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By DONALD CULROSS PEATTIE

JEDEDIAH SMITH–*Trailmaker Extraordinary*

The Pacific Historian

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Speaking of People

Fission fascinates her . . .

DONALD CULROSS PEATTIE grew up in a Chicago home where the clatter of typewriters mingled with stimulating conversation about people and ideas. His father was a newspaper man, his mother a novelist. But his favorite place to dawdle was a grandfather's home on Lake Michigan dunes, for Donald was born to be a naturalist. But also he had ink in his blood, so served apprenticeship on newspapers both in Chicago and in New York where he "stalked like an unhappy green heron seeking a feeding place."

At Harvard he began to find himself, though his botanical studies landed him in a musty, red brick office of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. But he reveled as he botanized in the Anacostia marshes near Washington where he felt the quiver in "the web of life itself, dew hung and brilliant with concepts fresh to me." Europe and the depression, marriage and children shaped a career that suddenly became known throughout America with publication in 1935 of *An Almanac for Moderns.*

PEATTIE loved "the misty distances" of Illinois "with the sweet south wind that brought thaw and the sound of church bells" but for his home town chose California's Santa Barbara. Here as a roving editor of *Reader's Digest* he wrote copiously. His novels, juveniles, anthologies, nature studies, biographies, and histories total 34 books. Each bears witness to his ability to treat fact with an almost poetically lyric style—something which, we think, can be noted in his brief yet comprehensive account of JEDEDIAH SMITH.

DONALD CULROSS PEATTIE died in 1964. His own words could be his epitaph: *Life is the battle in which we all fall, but is never lost.*

Splitting California is seemingly impossible. Mother Nature tried it in 1906. Men, too, have failed. But the issue is still a live one thinks ROBERTA M. MCDOW. She points to unrest generated by the "one man, one vote" decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, led by native-son CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN, which dramatizes the population shift from north to south. This Stockton woman became interested in the subject in 1951 when as a student at the University of the Pacific she won the Kirkbride Award for a paper under the tutelage of DR. ROCKWELL D. HUNT, first director of the California History Foundation.

MRS. MCDOW teaches in the Stockton schools, as does her husband MARVIN. The eldest of their two sons, MIKKEL, was born in Denmark where his parents were pursuing their hobby, travel and writing. Her sons got their mother interested in boys, and today she basks in her honored role of Den Mother. But presently she hopes to find time to take care of details required of those who win a Ph.D.

He tells about a machine.

MARTHA SEFFER O'BRYON's husband, who is professor of German at University of Pacific, would agree with MRS. MCDOW's on the point that when women are fascinated by history, they soon become addicted – hopelessly but happily.

MRS. O'BRYON started early. Back in Illinois, her grandfather discovered an easy way to entertain this five-year old grandchild was to go "down the gully" to search for arrow heads. Her involvement with Indians led to a history major at Knox College–and eventually to book-editing for the PACIFIC HISTORIAN. Her "*Ballade* to Jed Smith" was composed upon request overnight in the folksong milieu to celebrate the tenth Rendezvous of the Jedediah Smith Society in this "Year of the Big Beaver."

As an author, she delights in brain children but like CORNELIA, the Roman matron, takes greatest joy in her jewels – seven quite wonderful children.

We were surprised when we discovered that the Smithsonian exhibit most popular with visitors is the massive machine that once harvested and threshed wheat on the San Joaquin prairie. And no one is qualified better to tell its story than DR. JOHN T. SCHLEBECKER. Since this Indiana-born scholar did his graduate work at Wisconsin and Harvard, he has established an international reputation as an authority in agricultural history.

DR. SCHLEBECKER has taught in several schools but currently is associated with the University of Maryland and American University. He has worked on awards from the American Philosophical Society. At the Smithsonian Institution he is curator of the Division of Agriculture and Forest Products.

MADGE MORRIS is a forgotten writer once of great popularity in California. We found her poem, which so appropriately lights up DR. SCHLEBECKER's article, in *The Californian* for August, 1892. –L.D.C.

"Almost poetically lyric . . ."

JEDEDIAH SMITH
—*Trailmaker Extraordinary*

By DONALD CULROSS PEATTIE

WHEN JEDEDIAH SMITH presented himself to Gen. Wm. H. Ashley at St. Louis in 1822, it was in answer to Ashley's advertisement for 100 "enterprising young men . . . to ascend the river Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two or three years." The season was spring, and Smith—at 23—was tall, brown-haired, blue-eyed, tough of body, gentle of soul.

Ashley, Virginia-born fur trader and a future congressman, liked the young man standing before him. But even this keen judge of human nature could not have suspected that within a decade Smith would be known throughout the West as "Old Diah," seasoned leader of men and maker of trails. A scratch of a quill pen, a handshake, and this "confidential young man," as Ashley was to call him, was recruited to his crew—and to the fraternity of Mountain Men.

Practically, what called Smith and the other Mountain Men west was the beaver. That was the day when every well-dressed man both here and in Europe had to have a beaver hat. Thus every good skin brought a handsome price, and the animal's scent glands were valued as well, precious as they were in the making of perfume.

A good trapper learned how to tell beaver sign, such as the chisel tooth marks on young aspens and other trees. The little beasts lived on the bark of these trees and used them to make dams that backed up into small ponds where they had their beaver lodges. If the trees proved too cumbersome to move, the beavers would dig a canal and float the logs down into the streams. So an experienced beaver hunter did not have to wait till he saw the beaver—which in any case worked at night—but knew by the landscape where to set his traps.

A hardy, reckless, and proud breed were the Mountain Men. The West will never forget them—William Sublette, "Brokenhand" Fitzpatrick, Hugh Glass of grizzly fame, Jim Bridger that teller of tall tales, and Kit Carson, to name a few.

Jedediah Strong Smith stands tall among them. Born back in "York State" in 1799, he was one of 10 children. The family had come under the influence of Methodist circuit riders and of a scholarly physician, strikingly named Titus Gordon Vespasian Simons.

To win a fortune to aid "my mutch slighted parents" and to help educate his brothers and sisters were reasons Jed later gave for going west. But underlying them was a hankering for adventure, stirred by a gift from kindly Dr. Simons. It was a book telling of the travels of Lewis and Clark, who in 1804 had been sent by President Jefferson to explore the new Louisiana Purchase—even to the Columbia River and the Pacific Ocean.

Smith's first expedition as an Ashley man was up the Missouri. Near where the Dakotas join, Arikara Indians tried to take back horses sold to the Ashley men and young Jed distinguished himself in a bloody battle. Over the dead he prayed "a powerful prayer," in the words of one observer; today it's celebrated as the first recorded act of public worship in South Dakota.

Ashley recognized Smith's prowess and made him "captain" of an expedition to the Yellowstone trapping grounds. It headed cross-country through the Badlands and the Black Hills where Diah clashed with a grizzly. The beast leaped on him from out of the bushes, cracking several of his ribs and grabbing his head in its mouth. All his days Diah carried scars of that attack. One eyebrow was virtually gone, giving him a formidable gaze; his ear, almost torn from his head, was sewed back by a friend in a through-and-over stitch. For this reason, Diah grew his hair long all his life. But unlike other Mountain Men, he preferred to be clean-shaven on the trail every day if it was at all possible.

In a band of hardy adventurers much given to the bottle, Jedediah remained an abstainer. He did not use tobacco. He never blasphemed. His sternly ascetic life had no place in it for women, although his journal reveals that the prettiness and grace of some of the young Indian girls caused him to look back in retrospect over his shoulder. Doubtless he would have married had his life been long enough.

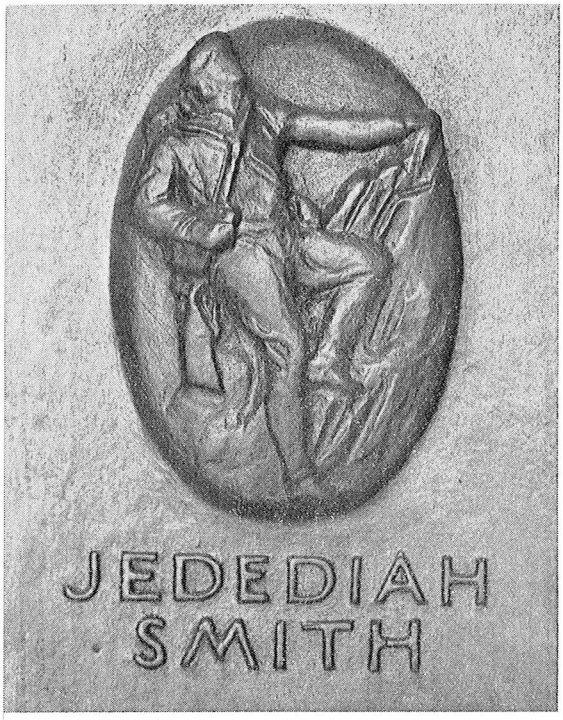
In March, 1824, after wintering in Crow country, Smith and his party crossed through the South Pass and found the creeks running a new way, indicating they had passed the Continental Divide. While Smith was not the first who ever crossed that route, his was the effective rediscovery of the broad, level pass through the Rockies in southwestern Wyoming.

More exploration brought him to the Great Salt Lake, itself a bitter brew but having plenty of fine streams flowing into it—and beaver sign everywhere. He spent the winter of 1824-25 near the lake, finding ideal places for trading posts and caches near today's Provo, Nephi, Ogden, and Brigham City in Utah. The Mormons are said to have learned about Utah from Smith and his fellow trappers.

Smith, with William Sublette and David Jackson, presently bought out Ashley's company. His partners worked old streams but he and 15 others struck south, seeking a new beaver empire. This, Smith's most famous trip, took him through the frightful deserts of southern Nevada and eastern California. Under the desert's devouring sun, the party faced starvation and agonizing thirst.

When at last they reach the Mojave River, they named it the Inconstant because, just when they needed a drink from it, it disappeared in the sand. But once beyond the Cajon Pass they came upon green grass, live oaks, corn, and herds of cattle—the country of the Spanish *rancheria* and today the heart of the orange orchards.

It was a trailworn party which arrived at the gates of Mission San Gabriel (now in Los Angeles)—lean, ragged, burned black by the sun, some dressed like



Honored at West Point

LAST GREAT WORK of Laura Gardin Fraser, distinguished American sculptress, was three bronze panels almost eleven feet tall depicting America's development. They were unveiled last June at the new library of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point. High on the second panel is the medallion shown at the left depicting Jedediah Strong Smith (1799-1831), first American to cross overland to California.

How Jed got this recognition is a tale briefly told. On a visit to Mrs. Fraser's vasty studio at Westport, Conn., a few years ago, Mrs. Case and I were entranced by the tawny and damp clay models of the panels, soon to be cast in bronze by the lost wax process. The dozens of small

Indians, all bearded except Smith. Diah had praise for the hospitality but forebore comment on the semi-feudal society prevailing at the Mission. But Gov. Gen. José María Echeandía's views of the explorers were less friendly; the Spanish Californians had heard much more about the Americans than the newcomers had of Californians. The Spaniards knew that their province could not be held against any great power—and of them all the States were the most menacing.

Echeandía was in a quandary. If he punished the intruders too severely, the U. S. might be in a fighting mood. If he did nothing, he would probably be recalled by his own government. So he ordered Smith and his companions to leave the country by the same route over which they had come into it.

To have obeyed this literally would have meant death. Instead, Smith interpreted the order to mean recrossing the San Bernardino Mountains. Having done this, he turned north, crossed the Tehachapi Pass, and descended the San Joaquin Valley, part of the Great Central Valley of California. Here again were beaver sign, green grass, and streams that came rushing cold out of the snows of the imposing Sierra Nevada Mountains.

Leaving all but two of his men in the Great Central Valley, he made the Sierra crossing in eight days. At best this was an ordeal, but worse lay ahead. He had exchanged the deep snows of the Sierra for the burning deserts of Nevada. Not knowing of its existence, he missed the Humboldt River and paralleled its course eastward through a waterless waste. Under the pitiless sun, the men would bury themselves in the sand to conserve what body moisture remained. Of this experience Smith later wrote:

"Our sleep was not repose, for tormented nature made us dream of things

figures in relief, Mrs. Fraser explained, represented America's great men and women, its flora and fauna.

"But where," I asked half in jest, "is my hero, good Jed Smith?"

"Jed who—and why should he be here?" she countered saucily. It was my opening. I moved in. She listened intently, then remarked that she had missed him in her research—adding that it was too late to consider him because the models had been approved, sans Smith.

Later I was surprised and delighted by a letter saying she had told the Commissioners at West Point about Jed. They said she might include him if she could find a suitable spot.

"I did it!" she said. "I picked up Johnny Appleseed and moved him over beside Davy Crockett. It's appropriate for these two great folklore figures to be together anyway!"

Like most figures on the panels, the one of Jed is allegorical as well as historical. He is shown climbing, symbolizing his achievement in surmounting the Sierra Nevadas—personalizing the first trickle in the tide of Americans pushing westward to the Pacific, seeking a better life.

Mrs. Fraser, an honorary life member of the Jedediah Smith Society, had hoped to attend the 1966 Rendezvous, but died of a stroke on August 13th, aged 77. She was the widow of her one-time instructor at the Art Students League in New York, James Earle Fraser. He is best known as creator of "the very tired Indian on the very tired horse," the statue titled "End of the Trail." The original plaster cast was done for the Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915. Later it was sold for $150 to a park at Visalia, Calif., where it still stands.

—LELAND D. CASE

we had not and for the want of which it then seemed possible we might perish in the desert unheard of and unpitied. In those moments how trifling were all those things that hold such an absolute sway over the busy and prosperous world. My dreams were not of gold or ambitious honors but of my distant quiet home, of murmuring brooks, of cooling cascades. . . ."

When he and his fellow skeletons staggered into the trappers' Rendezvous near Great Salt Lake, they were greeted with wild rejoicing and a salute from an old cannon.

Where lesser men would have taken ten weeks to recuperate, stalwart, Bible-carrying Smith stayed but ten days before setting out again to rescue his men hiding in California. This expedition was haunted by death.

Mojave Indians attacked his party at the Colorado River, killing ten. But survivors struggled on to the Great Central Valley, where the contingent he had left hailed him with joy. Lacking supplies, he was forced to enter the Spanish settlement once more and was imprisoned at Mission San Jose. However, Smith later was freed and given permission to sell a $4,000 crop of fur from the San Joaquin.

On his way once more, Diah led his men up the Sacramento Valley and to the California coast at the mouth of the Klamath River. But at what a cost! In July, 1828, along the Umpqua River, the savage Kelawatsets massacred 15 of his party. Smith escaped again with three of his men.

The stragglers pressed on to the Hudson's Bay trading post at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River. Here Smith was received by John McLoughlin, who helped him recover some 700 beaver skins, a few horses, and the precious diaries of Smith and Harrison Rogers, one of his companions.

Jedediah made his way back to St. Louis—with a tidy fortune of $80,000. There he was generous with the Methodist church he had occasionally attended, with friends, relatives, and those who had served him well.

"Few men have been more fortunate than I," he later told an anonymous writer. "I started into the mountains with the determination of becoming a first rate hunter, of making myself thoroughly acquainted with the character and habits of the Indians, of tracing out the sources of the Columbia River, and following it to its mouth; and of making the whole profitable to me, and I have perfectly succeeded."

So this 32-year-old veteran planned to retire—to become an Ohio farmer-squire and write a book of his adventures. But two younger brothers showed up in St. Louis. Why not, he asked himself, help them get a start in the profitable trade to Santa Fe, New Mexico? Diah found it easy to postpone the Ohio trip.

But things fared badly with the wagon train on the Cimarron Desert. It was on May 27, 1831, that Diah pushed on alone searching for water. When he came to the bed of a stream it was dry, with damp spots here and there. Trying to scoop out a little well in the moist earth, he was attacked by Comanches.

No one saw the fight. No one ever found his body. But in a Sante Fe bazaar his friends much later came upon his silver-mounted pistols. The Mexican who had them for sale said he had got them, together with a rifle which proved to be Smith's, from a band of Comanches. The story came out that the Indians had flapped a buffalo robe, causing Jed's horse to shy. As the animal wheeled, one of them fired, wounding him in the shoulder. Smith killed the chief and one other before a Comanche lance pierced his back.

This was not how Jedediah Smith would have chosen to die. A man who feared God and loved peace, he never wanted to kill anyone, however much a savage. Smith had no violence in him, for all his mighty frame and the rough and rigorous life he had led. He was one who made religion "an active principle, from the duties of which nothing could seduce him." A sense of God ever with him, he had pioneered Western exploration in the pre-cowboy, pre-badman, and pre-sodbuster period of the West's history. Much of that history he helped to make by opening the doors for those who were to follow.

He was the first explorer of the Great Basin. No U. S. citizen had ever before entered California from the east. He blazed a trail up into Oregon. Among men famous for their wild and reckless ways, he remained steadfast and pure. Where others lost their way or gave up the struggle, he ate the bread of faith and drank to the bottom from the cup of the Lord's will.

●

This piece continues THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN'S *Scrapbook*—a department *wherein readers* favorite articles or short stories on the West are revived and shared. Mr. Peattie's noteworthy piece about Jedediah Strong Smith was suggested by Miss Edith E. H. Grannis, Tucson, Ariz. It is reprinted from *Together*, June, 1960; © by Lovick Pierce, Publisher.

The *Ballade* of Jed Smith–1799-1831

(To the tune of Oh, Susanna!)

By MARTHA SEFFER O'BRYON

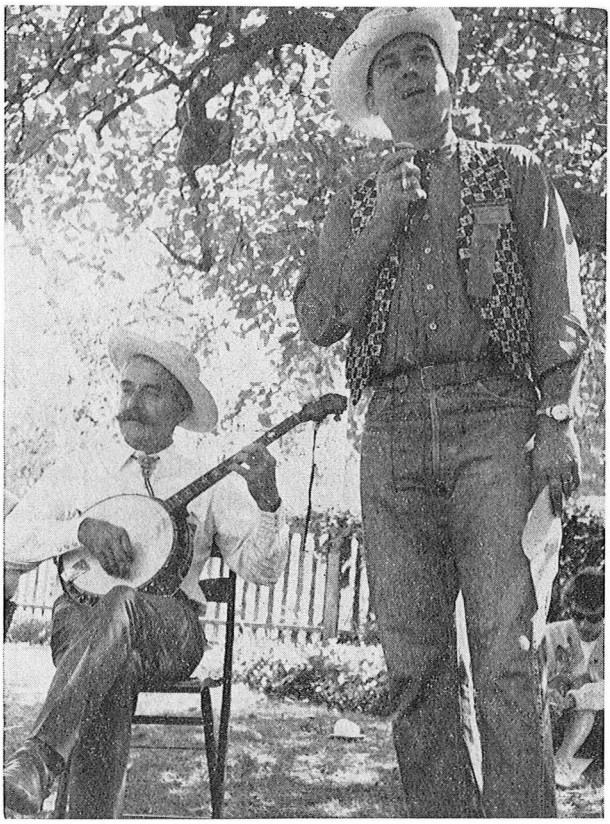
Jed came to California
Across the mountains' top.
He came from old Missouri
And nothing him could stop.
It snowed upon the mountains,
The desert was so dry—
The sun so hot the bear attacked
But old Jed didn't cry.

Old Jedediah, the bravest mountain man,
He came to California with a Bible in his hand.

Jed came to California
In eighteen twenty-six.
He crossed the Great Salt Lake
And evaded Indians' tricks.
He reached the Sierra Nevada.
Oh, the mountains, they were cold.
He prayed and used his Bible
But he never did grow old.

Oh, Jedediah, the bravest mountain man,
He came to California with a Bible in his hand.

Jed came to California
The Spanish drove him out.
He headed North, went right through here
But he stopped to taste the trout.
In twenty-eight he opened up
A trail to Fort Vancouver.



This Ballade *was first sung at the Jedediah Smith Society's tenth annual Rendezvous, Columbia, Calif., October 1, 1966, led by Buck Nelson.*

His men were killed, but good old Jed
Managed to find some cover.
Old Jedediah, the bravest mountain man,
Came to California with a Bible in his hand.

Old Jedediah to Santa Fee he went
But there his life was ended
And to Heaven he was sent.
The Indians shot an arrow.
It landed in his back
And Ole Jedediah was stopped in his tracks.

Old Jedediah, the bravest mountain man,
He went to his Glory
With his Bible in his hand.

Jedediah Would Have Enjoyed It

The 10th JSS Rendezvous draws over 200 buffs to Columbia for food, frolic, and fellowship.

THE JEDEDIAH SMITH SOCIETY'S tenth annual Rendezvous, this "Year of the Big Beaver," drew more than 200 celebrants to the spacious and tree-shaded yard of the Summer home of the University of the Pacific's President and Mrs. Robert E. Burns at historic Columbia, which in gold-rush days was the "Gem of the Southern Mines."

The date was Saturday, October 1. The day was so faultlessly the Mother Lode's Indian Summer best that one elated vacationer 'lowed that presence of Bishop Donald H. Tippett, of San Francisco, as main speaker just might have influenced the celestial forces that dispense rain or shine. Few were so philosophical, however. They had come to enjoy the food, the frolic, the fellowship. They did so.

Many were in costume. The tall, black beaver hat worn by President Warren H. Atherton, of Stockton, recalled the days of 1826-27 when Jedediah Smith, first American to cross overland to California, was in this region trapping beaver. Don Segerstrom, Sonora businessman, wore the buckskin and feathered war-bonnet which would have been characteristic, according to Hollywood, of Indians Jed encountered on his fabulous traipsing back and forth across the plains and the Sierras.

First in the queue (left) were these young men—eager to learn if the grilled chicken was as tasty as it smelled.

His listeners comfortable in easy chairs shaded by fruit trees, Bishop Tippett talked of 'Diah Smith as though he were a long-time friend.

"The lady known as Lou" and a Spanish don—Ruth Eprosan and R. R. Stuart—got awards for the "most exciting costumes."

A secret committee asked to determine the "most exciting costumes," shared awards between Mrs. Ruth Eprosan, of Sonora, and R. R. Stuart, of Pleasanton. Mrs. Eprosan was attired in a sweeping black dress with a hat bigger than an elephant ear, an ensemble which she did declare might have been worn by "that lady called Lou." Mr. Stuart, who established the Jedediah Smith Society a decade ago, was togged out like an old-time Mexican don.

By 10:00 a.m., the old Columbia stagecoach was jammed with eager children—and parents who went along just to make sure that everything was all right—for tours of the town. They continued all day. And not even speakers on the afternoon program begrudged the interruptions when the vehicle rumbled past the white picket fence and small fry at the windows or "riding shotgun" on top of the coach shrieked "Hi mom, hi pop!"

Gold panning demonstrations and horseshoe pitching and strolls dispersed the crowd till noon, but no dinner bell was needed to bring them together. The bark of six-shooters in a street demonstration of fast draw by the "Gun Fighters of Columbia," led by George Munoz, brought everybody running. Then "Bushway" Paul Fairbrook, the University of Pacific's food maestro, and Assistant John Bailey took over. With wooden ladles they directed traffic past glowing grills that scented the air with the lure men and women have known and loved since they dwelled in caves. While moustachioed John Vanderwheile, from Whoopup Gulch, twanged the banjo and sang folk songs, the diners partook of The Big Gorge, this being the menu:

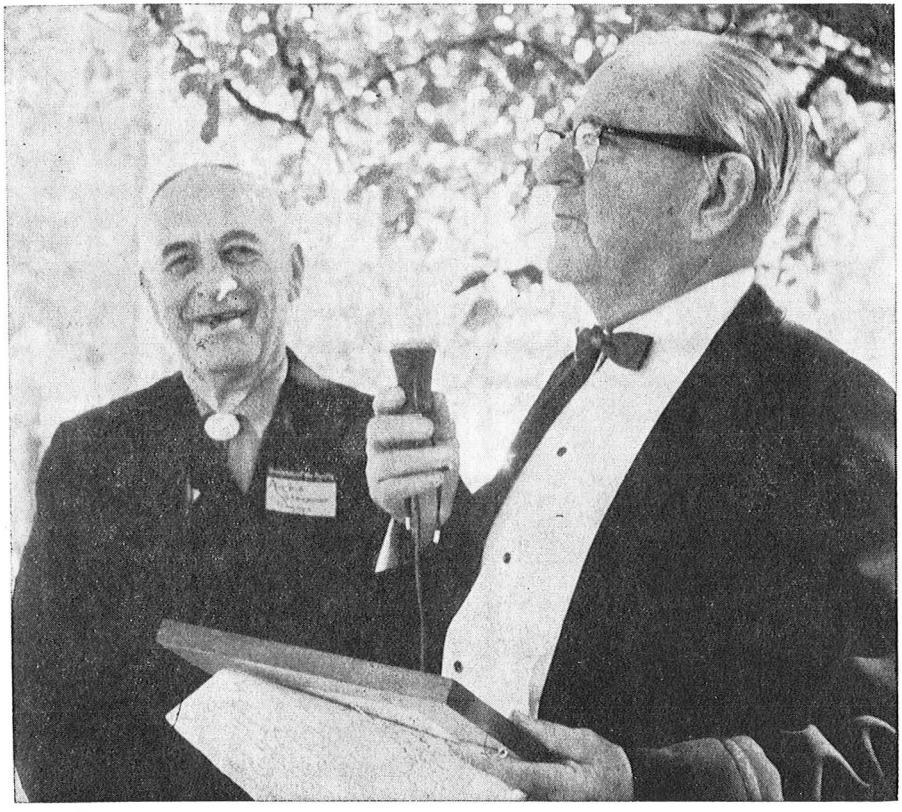
Minted Kickapoo Juice—Fresh as Possible
Take-Your-Pick Fixins
Chicken Broiled and Disjointed—a la Sacajawea*
Cranberry Orange Stuff
Jello Molded—but As You Like it
Butter Flake Rolls a la Royce
Pennsylvania Dutch Tartlets
Calaveras Cheese
Cowboy Coffee, Sierra Cooled Tea, Euphoric Cow Milk

With a presiding officer who once was National Commander of the American Legion, the program was marked by military promptness:

Invocation—The Rev. Albert E. Raugust
"Hail! and Welcome to Columbia!—Dr. Robert E. Burns
Response: "Why We're Glad to Be Here"—R. R. Stuart
Introduction of Distinguished Compadres—President Atherton
Introduction of Guest of Honor—Don Segerstrom
Remarks from Guest of Honor—"Mr. Mother Lode" Archie Stevenot
Presentation of 1966 Awards from The Order of the Ever Meagre but Always Eager Beaver to Martha Seffer O'Bryon and John Higgins—President Atherton
Report on Jedediah Smith Memorial Stamp Project—Past President Stuart Gibbons
Awards for "Most Exciting Costumes"—Mrs. Aileen Ross
Nominations of Dr. John Neihardt and Senator Clinton P. Anderson for Honorary Life Memberships—Secretary Leland D. Case
"Ballade to Jed"—a new folksong by Martha Seffer O'Bryon
Address: "Shake Hands with 'Diah Smith"—Bishop Donald Harvey Tippett
Benediction—The Rev. George W. Crichton

Following the program, church women of the community held a reception

*"*By the Way, Who Was Sacajawea?" titled a toast by Ronald Limbaugh, UOP professor of history described as "fresh from the Idaho diggings and the Lewis and Clark country!"*

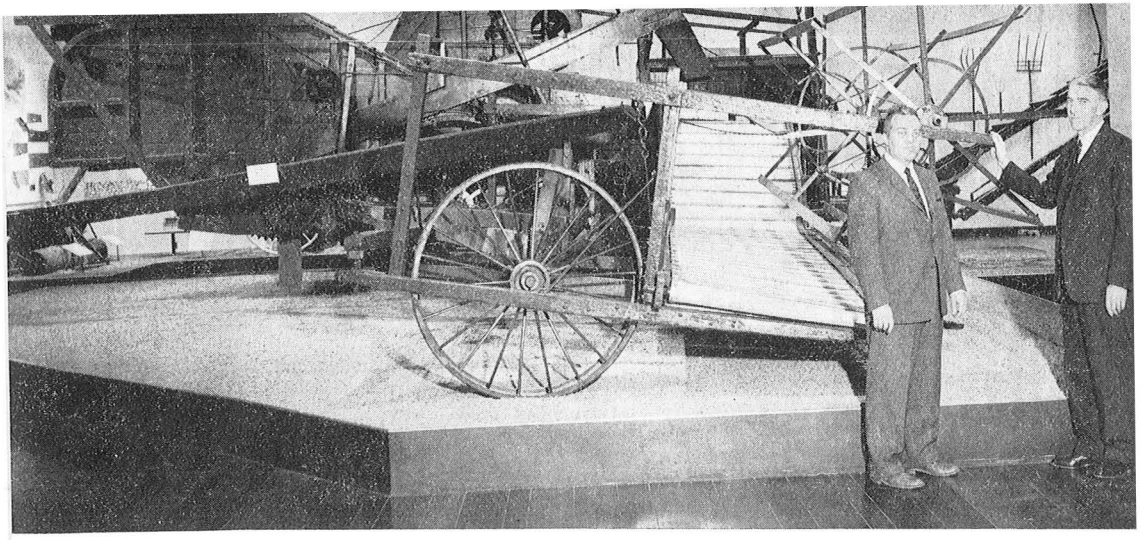


President Atherton congratulates Archie Stevenot (left), aged 84, "Mr. Mother Lode," the Rendezvous' guest of honor.

for Bishop and Mrs. Tippett at the historic home of Mrs. Geraldine McConnell.

President Atherton spoke for all in thanking Bishop Tippett for an address "which made Jed Smith a very real person—one I'd like to know." The Bishop responded with appreciation for the Host and Hostess and the Local Arrangements Committees. Grace Burns and Dorothy Tye co-chairmaned the former, working with Howard and Ruby Bissell, Robert E. Burns, Leland and Joan Case, Don Chase, Stuart Gibbons, Ronald and Marilyn Limbaugh, and Leonard and Martha O'Bryon. Geraldine McConnell was in charge of local arrangements, aided by Elizabeth Dunlavy, Ruth Eprosan, Buck and Denny Nelson, Ruth Newport, Neil and Lorraine Power, and Chris Woodhill.

The 1967 Rendezvous will be held October 7, probably at Micke's Grove, a popular picnic spot just north of Stockton. The annual Spring breakfast is scheduled in connection with the California History Institute, March 17-18, on the University of the Pacific campus in Stockton. —L.D.C.



The Combine Made In Stockton

It's now in Washington at the Smithsonian where visitors flock to see this relic of the Horse Age.

By JOHN T. SCHLEBECKER

Curator, Division of Agriculture and Forest Products, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

THE COMBINED HARVESTER-THRESHER exhibited in the Smithsonian Institution, not only illustrates one stage in the history of harvesting, but also helps to show how technology changes in modern societies. Technological change, particularly inventions, develop cumulatively. Discovery leads to discovery—first the wheel and then the carriage. The sequence of inventions also depends upon the changing needs of a society. Needs and circumstances vary more than do degrees of talent. Thus when need and knowledge merge, inventors quickly appear. Indeed, several men in several places are likely to work on the same problem at the same time, and they often solve it in almost identical fashion. Nearly simultaneous inventions or discoveries occur with astonishing frequency in the history of technology.

Once men begin to make complicated devices, however, they not only invent simultaneously, but borrow freely. Nearly every complex invention includes the discoveries of several men. Thus, in truth, no one man invented the reaper; many invented some parts of it. Moreover, an invention often consists solely of a new arrangement of various long-known parts. The history of the combine particularly shows how men may join a multitude of inventions

Smithsonian officials Edward C. Kendall and Frank A. Taylor discuss how this old combine harvested San Joaquin Valley wheat.

into one new useful device. In these harvesting-threshing machines, no one man did much more than invent some parts, or some special arrangement of parts. To whom should credit be given? Faced with the question, historians usually pay most attention to those who made an invention economically useful. This test of practicality serves truth well enough for, after all, technology aims ultimately at economic usefulness.

In any case, the pursuit of origins usually proves futile.

CUTTING AND THRESHING GRAIN in one operation probably originated in antiquity. But so far as we know, the idea first appeared in the United States in 1828 when Samuel Lane of Hallowell, Maine, patented a combine which he probably never built.[1] In 1836, however, Hiram Moore and J. Hascall of Kalamazoo, Michigan, patented a machine for harvesting, threshing, cleaning, and bagging grain. This machine actually worked in the field. True, it apparently had to be modified from the original patent in order to work through an entire harvest season, but it worked, and economically. The machine had the ordinary mechanisms used in all successful combines, such as a reciprocating sickle bar, a gathering reel over the sickle, an endless moving apron to carry the cut grain to the threshing cylinder, a sieve, a winnowing fan, and an elevator to deliver the wheat to the bags. In reapers and harvesters, details of construction and operation varied from one machine to another, but the basic cutting and delivery ideas remained fairly standard. The Moore-Hascall combine employed devices of a sort used earlier by Obed Hussey, Cyrus McCormick, and several others.

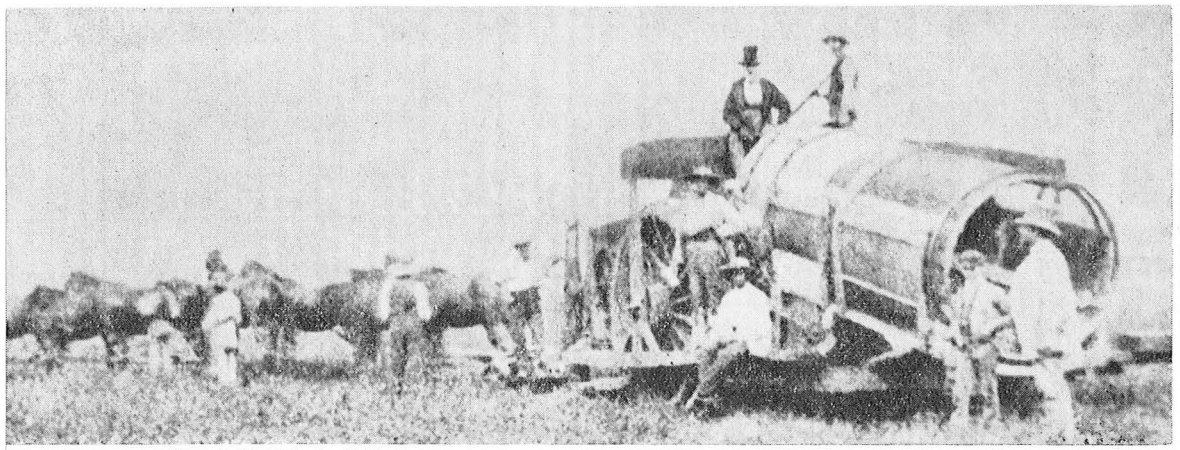
One of the Moore machines still worked in the fields of Michigan as late as 1843. The machine used 16 horses, cut a swath 10 feet wide, and harvested and sacked 25 acres a day. It worked every harvest until 1853 when George Leland and associates bought it and shipped it to California. There the combine arrived in time to harvest 600 acres of wheat in Alameda County in 1854.[2] No one knows how many farmers and inventors saw the machine, but apparently large numbers of them copied and modified the combine in the following years.

Meanwhile, Hiram Moore's machines continued to be made and used in Michigan. Indeed, combines working on a custom basis harvested many fields right on through the Civil War. The Michigan climate made the shocking of grain desirable, however, and the several McCormick reapers gradually supplanted the combine in the Midwest.[3]

1 Lillian M. Church, *Partial History of the Development of Grain Harvesting Equipment,* (Washington: U.S.D.A., Information Series 72, 1939), p. 45.

2 Church, *op. cit.,* pp. 45, 47; Robert L. Ardrey, *American Agricultural Implements,* (Chicago: The Author, 1894), pp. 54-55.

3 Church, *op. cit.,* p. 47.



From F. Hal Higgins Collection.

This recently discovered photo shows the combine made by Hiram Moore in Michigan, then in 1854 brought to California.

In California and on the Pacific Coast, however, the combine proved to be more adaptible. The dry harvest season of the San Joaquin Valley made combining on a large scale practical. Consequently, the machine found a ready market, and shortly a number of western inventors began to patent various parts of combines.[4]

One problem seemed to defy solution. A machine pulled by 16 to 24 horses and getting power by gears from a ground wheel, could be ruined if, as often happened, the horses became frightened and bolted. Even under normal use, the tight gears wore out rapidly, but the runaway caused the most trouble. The Centennial Harvester, the first commercially successful combine built on the West Coast, appeared in 1876. Built by David Young and J. C. Hoult [*sic*], of Stockton, the Centennial solved the problem of runaways. The animals pushed the combine, and they could hardly runaway backwards. Twenty-four horses or mules harnessed 12 abreast, propelled the header through the grain. The power came from two wheels on left and right, with the left wheel geared to the thresher and separator, and the right wheel to the header. These combines worked quite well, and subsequent inventors largely adapted from the Centennial machines. Even so, the Centennial did not solve the problem of normal wear on the gears and the costly breakdowns in the field.[5]

Meanwhile, the Holt brothers of Stockton sought another solution to the problem of worn gears. They experimented with link chains and V-belts for carrying power from the ground wheel to the various mechanisms. The Stockton Wheel Company of the Holts, founded in 1883, built the experimental combine, but the invention did not prove successful.[6]

In 1885, the now experienced Holt brothers built another experimental

4 Church, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

5 "Centennial Harvester Co.," *Stockton Evening Mail,* 1896, quoted in Thomas H. Luke, *History of the Combined Harvester,* (Stockton: Caterpillar Tractor Co., 1929), p. 5; Robert Ferguson, *Benjamin Holt and the Holt Nanufacturing Company of Stockton,* (Stockton: Caterpillar Tractor Co., May 1940), pp. 3, 6-7; Caterpillar News Service, *Caterpillar in Brief,* (Peoria: Caterpillar Tractor Co., Feb., 1954), p. 2.

6 Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

and nearly satisfactory harvester. This machine also used link chains and V-belts for transferring power. The link chain abolished gears and had the advantage of easy and rapid repair in case of breakdown. Link chains had long been used on other machines, but their application to the combine apparently represented an innovation. Even so, Benjamin Holt did not patent his device until 1889, and even then he did not mention the trouble with gears.[7]

In 1886 the Holts began to make their first commercially successful combines under the trade name of the "Holt Bros. Link and V-belt Combined Harvester." On this combine, power from the left wheel went by link chain and sprocket to nearly all of the threshing equipment. A leather, riveted V-belt drove the cylinder from the countershaft. Power for the header came from the right wheel by sprocket and link chain. These combinations worked well enough.[8]

In addition to the link chain and the V-belt, the Holt combines used a variety of new devices, including a single-wheel truck and turntable in front, a hinged header to allow greater flexibility in covering rough ground, and a wheel with pulleys to adjust the cutting height of the header. For the most part the Holts did not patent these devices, and they may not have invented them. All of the innovations appeared on the 1886 machines, however. Most significantly, the 1886 machines had the term "V-belt," used in both the name of the combine and in other descriptions. Apparently the V-belt, as well as the link chain continued in use through 1886.[9]

The Holts made around 15 models of their first machine in 1886; they made more in 1887 and in the following years. In 1889 Benjamin Holt got around to patenting the use of chain links and sprockets on the header and thresher. He also got a patent on the feeding mechanism.[10] In Patent Number 408,413, for the link chains, the inventor did not mention gearing on the threshing equipment, but his patent did note that.

> In order to drive these various parts with proper speed and direction with relation to each other, we employ a system of chain belts and sprocket-wheel, which prevents any slipping or marked change in the length and tension of the belts, such as usually occurs when the ordinary smooth flexible belts are employed.[11]

The patent thus suggests that Holt eliminated the belting, rather than the gears. Still, the patent does not absolutely indicate the end of V-belting. Nevertheless, the V-belt apparently disappeared from the Holt combines around this

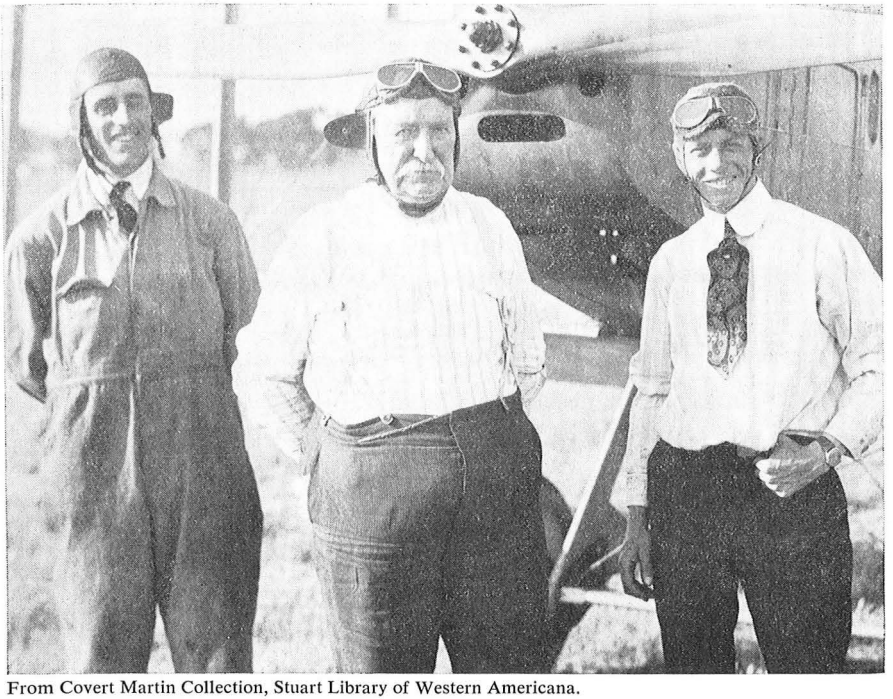
7 Church, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Patent Office Records, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, Patent Office, Washington, D. C. These show no Holt patents for those years. Patent Office Records, 1889, U. S. Patent Office, Washington, D. C.

8 Luke, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Patent Office Records, 1886.

9 Luke, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 4; *Caterpillar in Brief, op. cit.*, p. 3; "First Holt Harvester-Thresher is Displayed at Smithsonian Museum," *Caterpillar News Service,* (Peoria, 1964), in Office Records of the Division of Agriculture and Forest Products, (hereafter A&FP), of the Museum of History and Technology, (hereafter MHT), of the Smithsonian Institution, (hereafter SI).

10 Patents respectively: 408,412; 408,413; 416,618; and 416,916; Patent Office Records, 1889.

11 Quotation from Patent Office Records, 1889, "Traveling Thrasher," Patent Number 408,413, issued Aug. 6, 1889 to B. Holt and J. Draper.



From Covert Martin Collection, Stuart Library of Western Americana.

Benjamin Holt (center), the Stocktonian who developed the combine now in the Smithsonian, was an early flying enthusiast.

time, and according to one historian, the V-belt disappeared on all major machines by 1890. The chains mentioned in the 1889 patent may have been invented around 1888 to replace V-belting whenever possible. Anyhow, by 1889 the Holts used smooth belts wherever they had to use belts.[12]

Initial and terminal dates can be set, more or less, for the use of V-belting by the Holt Company. The V-belt, by all accounts, appeared on the combines built in 1886. Sometime in 1887, or more probably 1888, the Holts stopped using V-belts. The combine in the Smithsonian Institution has no V-belting, and consequently it appeared no earlier than 1887, and more likely in 1888. The Smithsonian's Holt Combine might have been made even later than 1888, but probably not. For one thing, in 1890 Benjamin Holt patented a frictional clutch for the threshing cylinder. This frictional clutch does not appear on the Smithsonian's model, so presumably the combine was built before 1890.[13]

12 Luke, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

13 Patent Office Records, 1890, "Thrashing Machine," Patent Number 420,512, issued Feb. 4, 1890 to B. Holt; F. Hal Higgins thought that perhaps the combine had been built in 1887: "I take it this Holt combine is the same 1887 machine we had a bunch of mules pulling around the field at Ames at that 1931 ASAE anniversary show." F. Hal Higgins, to Parker M. Holt, Nov. 7, Office Records, A&FP, MHT, SI.

THE WHEAT OF SAN JOAQUIN

BY MADGE MORRIS

The San Joaquin Valley, of central California, was known as one of the greatest bread baskets in the world in the latter part of the 18th century. This poem was first published in *The Californian* magazine for August, 1892.

A thousand rustling yellow miles of wheat
Gold-ripened in the sun, in one
Vast fenceless field. The hot June pours its flood
Of flaming splendor down, and burns
The field into such yellowness that it
Is gold of Nature's Alchemy; and all
The mighty length and breadth of valley glows
With ripeness.

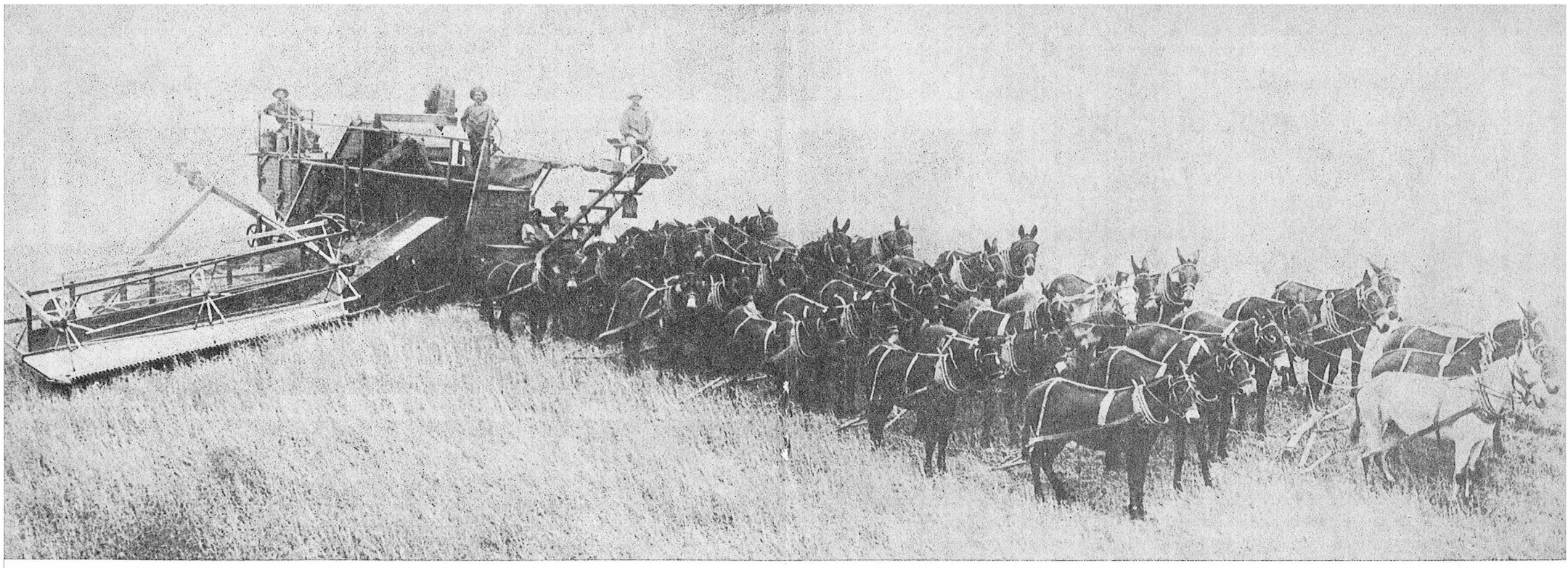
Then a rolling of machinery
And tramp of horse and scream of steam
And swishing sighs of falling grain,
And sweaty brows of men; and then—
The Sampson of the valleys lieth shorn.

The early career of the Smithsonian's combine is unclear. Sometime in the 20th century, however, C. Parker Holt acquired it and put it to one side for preservation.[14] The combine ended up on the Holt ranch near Stockton, California. There it came to the attention of Edward C. Kendall, Curator of Agriculture at the Smithsonian. Sometime in 1957, apparently as an accidental result of his efforts to find an old Caterpillar Tractor, Kendall discovered the combine. Mrs. C. Parker Holt shortly offered the combine to the Smithsonian, and the Holt Brothers Company of Stockton agreed to restore the machine.[15]

In 1958, Dr. Leonard Carmichael, Secretary of the Smithsonian, approved the acquisition of the combine, believing it would make an impressive exhibit in the new Farm Machinery Hall. Early in 1959, the curator went to Stockton to arrange for restoration and transport of the combine. He and Parker M.

14 Probably the combine never left California, and it may have spent most of its life in the San Joaquin Valley. "First Holt Harvester Thresher," *loc. cit.; Caterpillar News Service,* (Peoria, 1964), picture of Combine, Office Records, A&FP, *loc. cit.*

15 Benjamin Holt, builder of the combine, also later invented the Caterpillar tractor, and founded that company. Correspondence on the Caterpillar Tractor, Office Records, A&FP, *loc. cit.;* "Annual Report of the Section of Manufactures and Agricultural Industries for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1956," prepared by E. C. Kendall, Curator, SI, shows no mention of the combine. In 1957, however, Kendall wrote of his hope of getting the machine in his "Annual Management Report, Plans and Suggestions for the Coming Fiscal Year 1958, For the Section of Agricultural Industries," Office Records, A&FP, *loc. cit.*



The Holt combine sweeping across vast fields of San Joaquin Valley made a thrilling picture. This view shows the header side of the machine which may be the one now on exhibit at the Smithsonian.

Holt made the final arrangements in April, 1959. A story about the gift in the *Stockton Record* April 4th[16] gave 1884 as the probable date of the combine. When F. Hal Higgins, historian of farm technology, saw the story he quickly pointed out that the combine could not have been made earlier than 1886. The correspondence suggests, however, that neither the donor nor anyone else knew the exact age of the machine. Neither did anyone seem to know what it had done or where it had been during its working days. The date of 1886, which became the official date of manufacture, may have been selected because it seemed the most likely date, or more probably, the oldest possible date. Efforts to find more definite evidence on the age of the machine proved unsuccessful. No records survived, and no living thresherman could be found who knew anything for certain about this particular harvester.[17]

The Holt Brothers Co. shipped the combine east on December 5, 1960, after having repaired it in Stockton. The exact arrival date is something of a mystery, but it reached the Smithsonian sometime before April 28, 1961. The Smithsonian officially accessioned it on June 6, 1961.[18] The combine went on display in the Farm Machinery Hall in January 1964 as the central exhibit. There it attracts more comment and interest than any other single item in the Hall. Visitor reaction suggests that most people have no idea that an efficient combine existed as early as 1886, and for most visitors, the California origin also comes as a surprise.

The Smithsonian's combine represents about the ultimate development in horse-powered implements. In the next stage in the evolution of these machines, steam engines pulled and operated the combines. Later on, stationary gasoline engines powered the machinery, while horses or tractors pulled the harvester across the field. The Holt Combine of 1887, or so, thus represents a final development in the heroic age of animal power.

16 "Memorandum for the File, Re: Secretary's Approval of Agriculture and Wood Technology Halls," Oct. 8, 1958, Inter-Office Memoranda, 1946-1960, Office Records, A&FP, *loc. cit.;* E. C. Kendall to Parker M. Holt, Feb. 26, 1959, A&FP *loc. cit.;* "Holts Give Ancient Combine to Smithsonian Institution," *Stockton Record,* (Stockton, Calif., April 4, 1959), p. 14.

17 "Holts Give Ancient Combine," *loc. cit.,* p. 14; E. C. Kendall to F. Hal Higgins, June 12, 1959, A&FP, *loc. cit.;* F. Hal Higgins to Parker M. Holt, Nov. 7, 1963, A&FP, *loc. cit.;* Robert E. Alling, Sales Promotion, Holt Brothers, to E. C. Kendall, May 11, 1959, A&FP, *loc. cit.*

18 Parker M. Holt to Edward C. Kendall, Dec. 6, 1960, A&FP, *loc. cit.;* Parker M. Holt to Edward C. Kendall, April 6, 1961, A&FP, *loc. cit.;* Accession Memorandum, Records of the United States National Museum, June 6, 1961.

California's Hundred Year Debate!

To Divide or Not to Divide?

By ROBERTA M. MCDOW

IN 1907, JUDGE FRANK H. SHORT of Fresno flexed his imagination to improvise imagery suggesting the ultimate in improbability. He declared:

"Before California is divided into two States we will doubtless be . . . sending wireless messages to the inhabitants of Mars . . .[1]"

By 1965, the *Stockton Record,* though opposed, was not so sure. Dropping into the now familiar space-age rhetoric it editorialized:

"Senator Dolwig's plan to divide California at the Tehachapis has solid support among Northern and Central California senators . . . What they propose is akin to their volunteering to board the first flight to Mars[2]."

To divide or not to divide is a question almost as old as American occupation. At the Constitutional Convention of 1849, delegates from the South presented a plan to make their area a territory apart from the new state. The following year Southern residents sent Congress a petition to create the Territory of Southern California. And Congress itself explored the possibility of severing California to form the Territory of Colorado.[3] Obviously none of these proposals prevailed and California entered the Union intact.

In the decade following admission, however, Southern Californians continued to press for division. Two proposals would have trisected the state, making the states of Sacramento, California, and El Dorado and, several years later, Shasta, California, and Colorado.[4] It was even suggested that the Southland become "South Cafeteria"![5] But the stage was only being set for the most successful division movement in California's history.

In 1859 Senator Andrés Pico, brother of Pio Pico who governed California toward the end of its Mexican period, introduced a resolution in the state legislature to form the Territory of Colorado. The new territory would include Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Diego counties, which he represented, and Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and part of Buena Vista counties. Unlike all

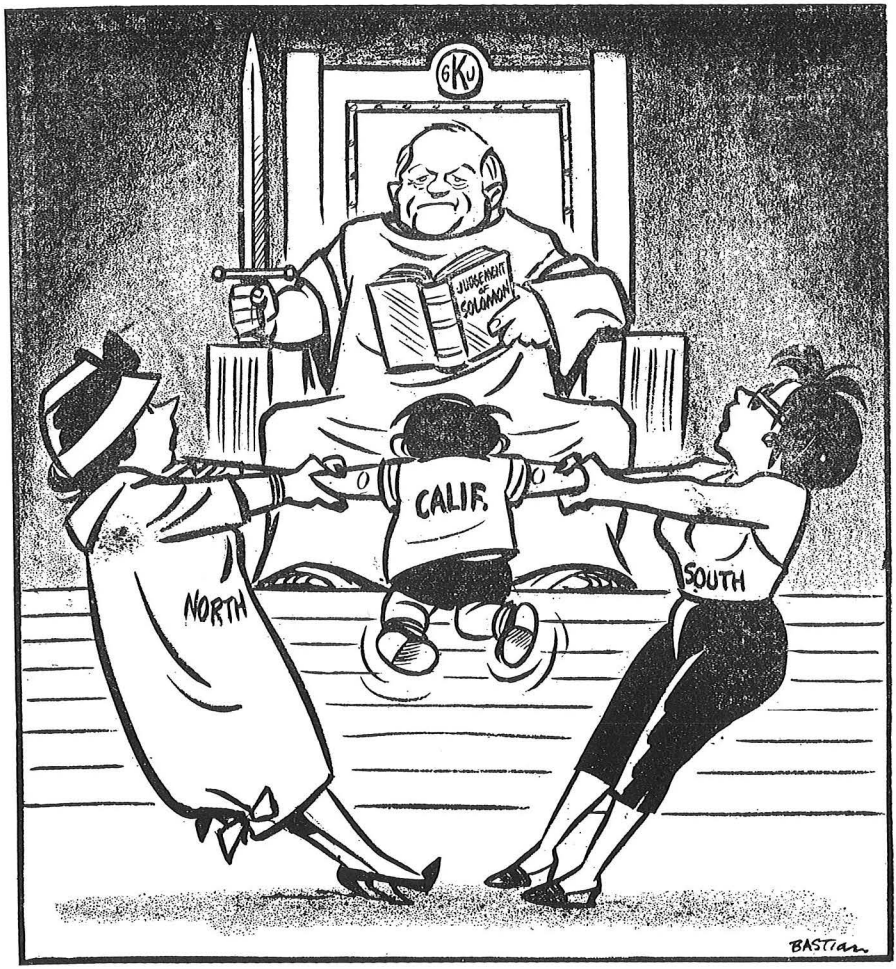
1 *Los Angeles Times,* March 10, 1907.

2 *Stockton Record,* January 22, 1965.

3 William Henry Ellison, "The Movement for State Division in California, 1849-1860," Reprint from *The Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (October, 1913), pp. 104-110.

4 Owen C. Coy, *A Guide to California History* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1951), pp. 56, 121-129.

5 Ellison, *op. cit.,* p. 134. A similar statement appeared in *Stockton Record,* January 24, 1966.



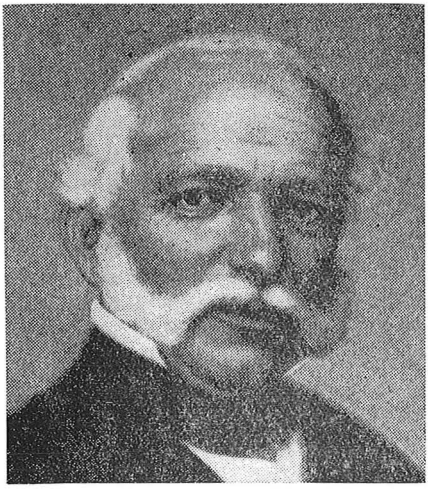
The old, old question of California's disbalance, as seen by a cartoonist for the San Francisco Chronicle, April 13, 1958.

other attempts to divide the state, the Act of 1859, or the Pico Act, was passed by both houses of the legislature. It was approved by the Governor and by two-thirds of the electorate in the seceding counties. Only the consent of Congress was required to make division a reality.[6]

A curious task now fell to Milton S. Latham. As Governor of the state he sent the official papers and his personal evaluation of the situation to President James Buchanan.[7] But as Senator-elect from California, Latham was aware that he might meet the proposal again on the Senate floor. Years later

6 Coy, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-133.

7 *Sacramento Daily Union,* January 13, 1860.



Andrés Pico (1810-76), who fueled the early fight.

Senator Dolwig maintains it is a live issue today.

Latham's message to the President would be used on both sides of the question.[8]

Congress, faced with a dividing nation, was not in the mood to consent to a divided state. Since admission, Congress seemed to associate the fission of California with the slavery issue although this problem was only incidental in the Western state.[9] Instead, the reasons advanced for division were sectional interests confined to California.

Strange as it may seem to Californians today, Southern residents feared the power of the North in the early days of statehood. By 1849 the South, clinging to its old Hispano-California culture, was outnumbered four to one by the North which was swollen with transient gold seekers.[10] At the Constitutional Convention the Southerners argued that the representation proposed for the new state was unfair because it did not reflect the permanence of the South's residents. They complained that the tax burden would fall more heavily upon their land-owning population. In their petition to Congress in 1850 they said that the South was not familiar with American institutions, that the territory

8 Cf.; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California,* Vol. IV (San Francisco: N. J. Stone and Company, 1898), pp. 260-261., Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California,* 1860-1890), Vol. VII (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), p. 255., Elijah R. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861,* How Colonel E. D. Baker Saved the Pacific States to the Union (Boston and New York: Houghton and Mifflin Company, 1912), p. 46., Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, editor, *History of California,* Vol. IV (New York: The Century History Company, n. d.), pp. 50-52., Robert N. Bulla, "Division of California," from a paper read before the Sunset Club, Los Angeles, March 29, 1907., John G. Downey in the *Sacramento Daily Record Union,* February 8, 1877.

9 Ellison, *op. cit.,* p. 101.

10 *Ibid.,* pp. 102-103.

was too large for one state and that the distance to the capital was burdensome and inconvenient.[11] Only one reason was not based on fear or envy of the North: that two states would increase the Congressional representation of the Pacific Coast.[12]

These were the reasons that influenced the state to approve the Pico Act. Most of them would be used by division leaders for many years to come.

Meanwhile Californians in the far-Northern counties were experimenting with a division plan of their own. Whatever the reason, for its own merits or to counteract the Pico Act, the state of Klamath was proposed to include the counties of Siskiyou, Del Norte, Klamath, Humboldt, Trinity, Shasta, Plumas and Tehama.[13] But, like the Territory of Colorado, the state of Klamath failed to materialize.

For almost twenty years state division was practically a dead issue. In 1863 John G. Downey, Latham's successor and Democratic candidate for Governor, suggested that the creation of West Virginia might rejuvenate the separation issue in California. He stated his opposition to severance, suggesting it would add to the taxes of Southern Californians.[14]

But by 1877 the war was over and John G. Downey had changed his mind. In the *Los Angeles Express* he called for the resurrection of the Act of 1859 and asserted that Governor Latham's opposition to the plan had prevented its approval by Congress.[15] Downey's remarks caused little reaction, but later that year the Express published a letter from Judge Robert M. Widney which started the division debate again. Judge Widney wrote that the industries of the two sections were different and Northern control of the corporations was hindering Southern progress. Larger harbor appropriations, increased railroad facilities and more honest and economical state government were visualized by Widney as benefits resulting from state division.[16] The *Daily Alta California*, published in San Francisco, suggested that Widney was imagining things.[17]

Editors continued to explore the issue and the *Petaluma Argus* sounded a new note. How, wondered the *Argus*, could California become two states without countering the federal admission requirements defined in Section Three, Article Four of the Constitution of the United States?[18] As though the editor of the *Argus* had raised a question too difficult for his colleagues to answer, the issue disappeared from the newspaper columns.

In May, 1880, John G. Downey's views on division were in print again.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 104-107.

12 Coy, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-125.

13 Ellison, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

14 *Sacramento Daily Union,* August 19, 1863.

15 *Sacramento Daily Record Union,* February 8, 1877.

16 Josiah Royce, *California, From The Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1886), p. 487.

17 *Daily Alta California* [San Francisco], November 20, 1877.

18 *Sacramento Daily Record Union,* December 8, 1877.

This time his words and those of other writers came to life in citizens meetings, committees, and conferences.

Once more former-Governor Downey called for the revival of the Pico Act.[19] He added no new reasons for separation, but other Southerners did. Riparian rights now became an issue as Southern farmers insisted that state laws were not suited to their needs but to those of Northern miners.[20]

And new faces were added to the fray. One was Doctor Joseph P. Widney, brother of separation advocate Judge Robert M. Widney.

With his views on division a matter of record,[21] Doctor Widney addressed a mass meeting in Los Angeles in 1811 which was considering the improvement of Wilmington Harbor.[22] At Widney's insistence state division also became a topic for discussion.[23] No doubt he was aided in this effort by that old friend of division, who was also in attendance, former-Governor John G. Downey.[24] Downey and Joseph P. Widney were appointed to an executive committee which was to sound out division opinion in the other Southern counties.[25] A legal committee was also formed to study the status of the Act of 1859.[26] Among its members was another familiar division figure, Judge Robert M. Widney.[27] It is recorded that the mass meeting, ostensibly held to discuss Wilmington Harbor, ended with three cheers for the state of Southern California.[28]

Several months later the legal committee reported that the Act of 1859 was still valid,[29] and the executive committee was busy preparing for a conference of delegates from San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Ventura, Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino and San Diego.[30] The conference, which was supposed to plan for the Constitutional Convention for the state of Southern California, met in Los Angeles in September, 1881, but enthusiasm and support for separation were noticably waning. Delegates from the other counties balked at giving Los Angeles the supremacy it seemed to expect.[31] With approval for

19 *Los Angeles Times,* April 17, 1921.

20 Charles Dwight Willard, *The Herald's History of Los Angeles City* (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnew and Neuner Company, Publishers, December, 1901), p. 342.

21 Joseph P. Widney, "A Historical Sketch of the Movement for Political Separation of the two Californias, Northern and Southern, under both the Spanish and American Regimes," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California,* 1888-9, Vol. I (Los Angeles: Frank Cobler, "The Plain Printer," 1889), pp. 21-24.

22 James Miller Guinn, "How California Escaped State Division," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California, 1905,* Vol. VI (Los Angeles: George Rice and Sons, 1906), p. 231.

23 Widney, *op. cit.,* pp. 22-23.

24 *Los Angeles Times,* April 17, 1921.

25 *Sacramento Daily Record Union,* February 2, 1881.

26 Guinn, *op. cit.,* p. 231.

27 Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California* (third edition; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), p. 521.

28 *Sacramento Daily Record Union,* February 2, 1881.

29 *Ibid.,* May 27, 1881.

30 *Ibid.,* August 18, 1881.

31 Guinn, *op. cit.,* p. 231.

state division, but at a later time, the conference closed[32] and brought an end to separation activities for several years to come.

All of this time the papers had been presenting the facts in their news columns and thinking them over on their editorial pages. Right in the heart of the proposed new state the *Los Angeles Herald* rejected the state of Southern California in favor of associating Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Bernardino with the territory of Arizona to form "Calizonia."[33] Farther away the *Ventura Free Press* observed:

> There are a lot of hungy office-seekers in Los Angeles who want a new State, which they think will support them, and there are a lot of property-owners who want a few millions spent there to enhance the value of their real estate, and that is about all there is to the move to establish a new State.[34]

And the *Visalia Daily* reported:

> When the question was up before, it found sixteen supporters in this county. Out of this number several have since died. We do not believe that the move can obtain any considerable support in Kern or San Luis Obispo counties, and as for the counties to the North, they are not remarkable for the number of insane.[35]

During the next seven years the issue of separation was raised infrequently. The assessed valuation of Los Angeles county was increased five million dollars, in 1885, which caused the *Los Angeles Herald* to change its mind and see the advantages of a Southern state.[36] Later, Judge Robert M. Widney started another round of newspaper debates when he called for division through the Act of 1859,[37] and his brother, Joseph, co-authored a book characterizing California as two "distinct and separate States."[38] But it was a new man who had the next big scene in the division drama.

In December, 1888, General William Vandever of Ventura, Congressman from the Sixth California district, introduced a bill in the House to create the state of Southern California.[39] Vandever's new state, extending further North than any previous separation proposal, included Alpine, Tuolumne, Merced, San Benito, and Monterey counties.[40] The bill never left committee[41] and Central Californians were spared the question of deciding what state they were in.

After the death of the Vandever bill, state division convalesced in the pages of Southern newspapers and periodicals. When one press supported the

32 Willard, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.
33 *Daily Alta California,* February 5, 1881.
34 *Ventura Free Press* as quoted in *The Daily Bee* [Sacramento], September 7, 1881.
35 *Visalia Daily* as quoted in the *Daily Alta California,* August 24, 1881.
36 *The Morning Call* [San Francisco], September 27, 1885.
37 *Ibid.,* July 8 and July 9, 1887.
38 Walter Lindley and Joseph P. Widney, *California of the South* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1888), p. 1.
39 Guinn, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
40 *The Morning Call,* December 6, 1888.
41 Willard, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

idea, its counterpart in the North quickly printed its opposition. Even in 1891, when the State Board of Equalization again raised the assessed valuation of the Southern counties,[42] little support was given to those few who called for the formation of the state of South California.[43]

By 1906, when Nature undertook a little state dividing of her own along the San Andreas Fault, there were no separation proposals nor arguments abroad in the land. It was news to Californians, then, when the *Chicago Tribune* reported that people in Los Angeles were advocating division while San Francisco was still weak from the earthquake and fire.[44] Within a year, and probably unrelated to the preoccupation of San Francisco, division gained sufficient support to last fifteen years.

Chief of the new leaders was the Honorable Robert N. Bulla. In a paper delivered to the Los Angeles Sunset Club in March, 1907, Bulla considered the three basic aspects of the question: can, should, and will the state be divided.[45] He argued that California could separate through the Act of 1859, thus rejecting the opinion of Judge Frank H. Short published several weeks earlier. Short had stated that Section Three, Article Four of the United States Constitution precluded the division of any state already in the Union.[46] But Bulla cited Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maine, and Mississippi as evidence disproving Short's claim. As Bulla saw it, there was no reason why the state could not be divided.

And, he continued, the state should be divided. Southern Californians wanted a separate government, the distance to the capital was too great and too costly to travel, and the increase in Pacific Coast representation in the Senate were among the reasons he gave.

But Bulla was less confident when he considered if California could be divided. Probably the most important obstacle he noted was that the boundary line of the new state as set in the old Pico Act would cut Los Angeles from its Owens River project in Inyo county. He solved one problem, however. The use of California in the name of the new state was sometimes regarded as a minor obstacle. Bulla's solution: call the new state Los Angeles.

The latest separation debate made news as far away as Springfield, Massachusetts where that city's *Republican* wondered why Northern Californians did not support the division that would give the Pacific Coast two more U. S. Senators. The *California Weekly* replied:

> The representation of California in the United States Senate has not usually been of such quality as to stimulate a universal desire to have it multiplied by two.[47]

42 *The Morning Call,* September 16, 1891.

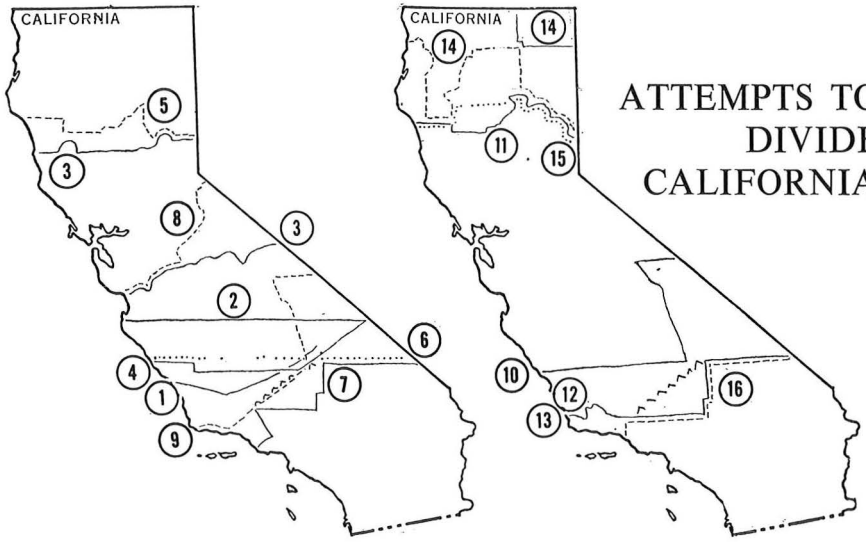
43 Coy, *op. cit.,* p. 57.

44 *Santa Barbara Morning Press* as quoted in *The Sacramento Union,* May 29, 1906.

45 Bulla, *op. cit.*

46 *Los Angeles Times,* March 10, 1907.

47 Anonymous, "The Explanation Easy," *California Weekly* [San Francisco], 1:387, May 14, 1909.



ATTEMPTS TO DIVIDE CALIFORNIA

1. *1850 Territory of Southern California*
2. *1850 Territory of Colorado*
3. *1855 Shasta, California and Colorado*
4. *1859 Territory of Colorado (Pico Act)*
5. *1859 Klamath*
6. *1881 Conference of Counties*
7. *1881 Calizonia*
8. *1888 Southern California (Vandever Bill)*
9. *1891 South California*
10. *1907 Los Angeles*
11. *1909 Siskiyou*
12. *1915 Boundary Amendment Association*
13. *1921 Southern California (Beal Bill)*
14. *1941 Jefferson*
15. *1956 Shasta*
16. *1965 Southern California (Dolwig Bill)*

ΛΛΛΛ *Tehachipi Mountain Range*

In September, 1909, the State Board of Equalization raised the assessed valuation forty per cent in Los Angeles county, fifty per cent in Orange, one hundred per cent in Ventura but only ten per cent in San Francisco county.[48] Within days after the increases were announced, the Los Angeles Realty Board was sponsoring a mass meeting. With George N. Black, acting president of the Board, presiding, the meeting denounced the equalization agency's increases and also passed a resolution favoring state division.[49] At a meeting of the City Club of Los Angeles, former State Senator Robert N. Bulla, reiterated his earlier analysis of the division question,[50] and the *Los Angeles Times*, traditionally a foe of separation, saw reasons for it. Among them was the superiority of Southern Californians in intelligence and morality.[51]

On the other side of the issue, the *San Francisco Call* reminded its readers that Section One, Article Twenty-one of California's Constitution, which describes the boundaries of the thirty-first state, would have to be amended

48 *Los Angeles Herald,* September 13, 1909.
49 *Los Angeles Times,* September 14, 1909.
50 *Los Angeles Express,* September 18, 1909.
51 *Los Angeles Times,* September 14, 1909.

before division could be accomplished.[52] And the *San Jose Mercury* helpfully suggested that the motto for the new state down South should be: "Taxation without our misrepresentation is tyranny."[53]

Just as they had done in 1859, the far-Northern counties began promoting a division plan for that area of the state. This time the movement began in Oregon—where it involved the counties of Coos, Douglas, Curry, Josephine, Jackson, Klamath, and Lake—and spread to Del Norte, Siskiyou, Modoc, Humboldt, Trinity, Shasta, Lassen, and Tehama counties in California.[54] But, again as in 1859, the new Northern state, Siskiyou, died from lack of interest.

As Southern Californians related the 1909 raise in assessed valuation to their obviously rapid development, tempers cooled and division agitation subsided. The South's development, however, was not an argument for unity in all quarters. Almost without exception the genesis and support for a separate Southern state had come from that area. But after the election of 1914,[55] the growing power of the South caused Northern Californians to urge partition. Early in 1915 an organization called the People's Association for Changing the Boundary of California by Amending the Constitution called for division by the means of its name described. The amendment would simply change the description of the boundaries stated in Section One, Article Twenty-one of the state Constitution, cutting off the eight Southern counties. Led by San Francisco engineer Russell L. Dunn, the organization circulated petitions to place the proposal before the voters in a special election.[56] Dunn answered the question of what to do about Los Angeles' water interests in Inyo county with the suggestion that Inyo could be traded to the Southern state for Santa Barbara.[57] But in spite of the prospect of keeping Inyo and Los Angeles together, and the efforts of the now ailing Robert N. Bulla,[58] support for the Northern proposal did not build in the South. R. H. Norton in the *Los Angeles Tribune* suggested counter petitions be circulated to include in the new state the counties of San Luis Obispo, Kern, Inyo, and Mono.[59] Finally the Northern organization ceased to function, squashed as the *Los Angeles Times* conjectured, "perhaps by the weight of its own name."[60]

Northern Californians continued to view the South's growth and strength with apprehension. In a letter to the *San Francisco Chronicle,* one man described Southern Californians as coming from "crude, provincial regions of the Middle West." He added:

52 *The San Francisco Call,* September 27, 1909.

53 *Ibid.,* September 30, 1909.

54 *Los Angeles Times,* December 16, 1909.

55 Rockwell D. Hunt, "History of the California State Division Controversy," *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California,* Vol. XIII, Part I (Los Angeles, California: McBride Printing Company, 1924), p. 49.

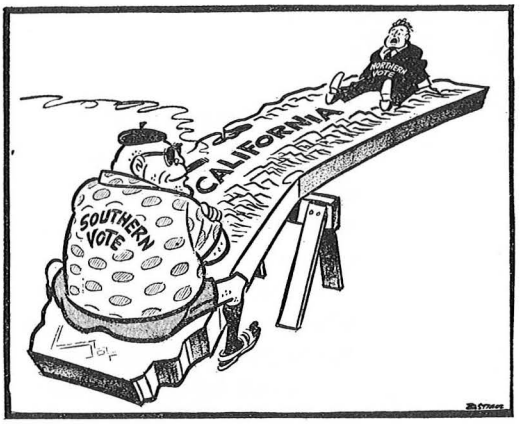
56 *San Francisco Examiner,* January 31, 1915.

57 *Ibid.,* February 2, 1915.

58 *Ibid.*

59 R. H. Norton, "State Division," *Los Angeles Tribune,* March 25, 1915.

60 *Los Angeles Times,* November 14, 1926.



"This is fun!" says the now more populous Southern California in this Chronicle *cartoon by Bastian, May 27, 1966.*

> I notice in the election returns that the people of the sanitary southland are preparing another slaughter of real Californians. . . . Give 'em a separate State and let them call it Puritangeles.[61]

Spurred by the South's dissatisfaction with apportionment following the 1920 census, Assemblyman W. F. Beal of Imperial county introduced a bill to combine the eight Southern counties into the state of Southern California.[62] Beal's blueprint for partition included, in order, the approval of the state legislature, the people of the entire state and the United States Congress.[63] But the Beal bill, dying in committee,[64] never attained its first objective and the most active division era since the first decade of statehood came to an end.

The problem of reapportionment was not settled, however, and the South continued to demand that its share of state representation reflect its population growth recorded in the 1920 census. Bitterly disappointed by the election of 1926, which changed the apportionment basis of the state Senate from population to population and area—thus guaranteeing a Northern dominated Senate—Southern Californians looked to partition as a solution to their problems.

Robert N. Bulla was on the scene again providing the South with an abundance of reasons for separation.[65] And the arguments for unity were listed too. One suggested that California should not be divided because, without the help of Los Angeles, the Northern state would be at the mercy of that immoral city, San Francisco.[66] As in the past, the cohesive forces won, perhaps because a new rivalry was becoming noticable: the conflict between rural and urban California.

Fifteen years later the most amusing division scheme of all was born in the fertile imagination of a public relations man. He was not a Hollywood press agent selling the idea of a separate Southland; he was the Mayor of Port Orford who wanted to attract attention to the problems of his Southern Oregon community. Gilbert Gable's plan was simple: secede from Oregon and join California.[67] His grievances found echoes in the counties South of the border.

61 *San Francisco Chronicle,* September 15, 1918.
62 *Los Angeles Times,* November 24, 1926.
63 J. M. Scanland, "Shall California Be Divided?" *Ibid.,* April 17, 1921.
64 *Ibid.,* November 11, 1926.
65 *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express,* November 13, 1926.
66 *Ibid.,* November 11, 1926.
67 *San Francisco Chronicle,* December 7, 1941.

Proclaiming the independence of the state of Jefferson, they promised to secede every Thursday until further notice.[68] Meanwhile in Santa Cruz the editor of the *News* called for that county to withdraw from the Union to become a colony of Portugal.[69]

But the time was December, 1941, and the state of Jefferson disbanded when the United States entered the war. A decade and a half would pass before the Northern counties threatened to secede again.

Lead by Beverly Mason and Patrick Hanratty, the move to form the state of Shasta began in December, 1956. The proposed state would include the counties North of the "Mason-Hanratty" line,[70] Siskiyou, Modoc, Del Norte, Humboldt, Shasta, Trinity, Lassen, and Plumas. The reason for secession was that the rest of California wanted too much of the far North's water and other resources.[71]

Although he did not declare his support for secession, Congressman Clair Engle of Red Bluff was quick to agree with his constituents that the area had been unjustly treated. He evaluated the state of Shasta as a "good publicity gimmick."[72] But in a little more than a month the state of Shasta was all washed up.

During the next few years the rivalry between Northern and Southern California reached new heights as the two sections battled over water. Criticized for the maneuver of holding up Northern flood control measures, one Southerner answered, "People die every day."[73] Extremes of sectionalism were also exhibited by the North. Asked what would happen if no more water was available in the Los Angeles Basin, one Northern Senator replied, "Let them go back to rolling tacos and weaving blankets."[74] In light of California's predilection to division schemes, it is surprising that no noticable effort was made to separate the two regions during the water controversy. Division was suggested by Senator George Miller, Jr. of Richmond, [75] but the idea did little more than inspire the *San Francisco Chronicle* to poll its readers on the question.[76] The results of that poll, published in December, 1958, showed that fifty-five and seven tenths per cent of the readers returning the ballots favored state division.[77] There was not enough sentiment in the state, however, to generate a separation plan. Perhaps Californians had learned, after long years of litigation with Arizona over the Colorado River, that state boundaries do not prevent nor solve water disputes.

68 William Newell Davis, Jr., "California's 'State of Jefferson'," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, June, 1952, p. 129.
69 *San Francisco Chronicle,* November 27, 1941.
70 *San Francisco Chronicle,* December 9, 1956.
71 *Stockton Record,* December 5, 1956.
72 *Ibid.,* December 6, 1956.
73 *San Francisco Chronicle,* December 1, 1958.
74 *Stockton Record,* June 18, 1959.
75 *San Francisco Chronicle,* April 13, 1958.
76 *Ibid.,* December 1, 1958.
77 *Ibid.,* December 26, 1958.

By the fall of 1964 the state had a water plan but a new problem was creating sectional tension. California was confronted with the task of reapportioning the Senate to comply with the United States Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" decision. Thus sparsely populated counties would lose a good portion of their Senate representation. Rather than be outnumbered in both the Senate and the Assembly, Northern Californians proposed division. In October, 1964, Supervisors in the far-Northern counties were discussing separation,[78] but it was state Senator Richard J. Dolwig of Redwood City who lead the most recent partition movement.

Dolwig's proposed state of Southern Calfiornia would include Ventura, Los Angeles, San Bernardino, Orange, Riverside, San Diego, and Imperial counties. Accordingly he introduced a bill to obtain the legislature's approval of division, a resolution seeking the consent of Congress and an amendment to the state Constitution providing for division subject to the approval of the electorate.[79] Although the California Poll of January, 1965, indicated that sixty-one per cent of the Northern Californians and seventy-six per cent of the Southern Californians sampled were opposed to division,[80] a majority of the state Senators approved the consent bill and the constitutional amendment.[81] Both measures died in the Assembly,[82] however, and Dolwig's partition plans were ended for that session of the legislature.

Except for the approval of the Senate, which one assenting Senator described as "almost facetious,"[83] there is little evidence that the latest division attempt was taken seriously. One Assemblyman, William F. Stanton of San Jose, suggested that California be divided into three states: North, South, and Disneyland.[84]

Will the issue of state division be raised again? We have Senator Dolwig's promise that it will. He predicts the admission of the new state by 1970.[85] To attain that objective, an organization called the Founders of the States of California was incorporated November 29, 1965.[86] George Meredith, Executive Director, said describing the organization's method, "This will be a mutual effort, with no civil war." With the California Chamber of Commerce and the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors opposing separation, a mutual effort looks doubtful.[87]

But it is left to history to record if the Golden State will finally be dismembered or if, as it has happened many times before, the unity of California will prevail.

78 *Stockton Record,* October 21, 1964.
79 *San Francisco Chronicle,* January 15, 1965.
80 *Ibid.,* January 28, 1965.
81 *San Francisco Chronicle,* June 5, 1965.
82 *Ibid.,* June 15, 1965.
83 Interview with Alan Short by writer January 10, 1966.
84 *Stockton Record,* February 25, 1965.
85 *San Francisco Chronicle,* October 18, 1965.
86 *Stockton Record,* November 30, 1965.
87 *Stockton Record,* February 9, 1966.

LOOKS AT WESTERN BOOKS

Civil War at Home

Beat! Beat! Drums by Delmar Martin McComb II with foreword by R. Coke Wood (Stockton, Calif. privately printed, 1965); 73 pp., illus., biblio., $2.00.

Reviewer: THEODOSIA BENJAMIN, *editorial assistant,* THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN.

This small paper-backed work, with the resounding title from Walt Whitman, is sub-titled: *The History of Stockton During the Civil War.* It tells how national events affected lives of people in one central California town from 1860 through 1862, as recorded by the local newspaper.

Much that these newspapers reported over a hundred years ago will be news to many of today's Stockton residents: That the Stockton Union Guard was the first California military unit to offer its services to the Federal Government (it wasn't called, however); that the town saw its own "Bear Flag" raising; and that the Third Regiment of California Volunteers, recruited in Stockton, marched over the Sierras all the way to Salt Lake City when assigned the duty of guarding the overland mail route.

The anecdotes which Mr. McComb retells, whether humorous or close to tragedy, all give the reader a glimpse of life in California during the Civil War years.

Illustrations are from the V. Covert Martin collection at the Stuart Library of Western Americana at the University of the Pacific.

Aloha with Reservations

Place Names of Hawaii by Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1966); 55 pp. $1.75.

Reviewer: CHARLES W. KENN, Hawaiian historian, linguist, and folklorist.

This small oblong book with soft cover is one Hawaii lovers will welcome, but they should know something of its history and, may I add, its limitations.

First, it should be noted that *Place Names of Hawaii* is derived from Thomas G. Thrum's appendix to the Rev. Henry H. Parker's revision of Rev. Lorrin Andrews' *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language, to Which is appended an English-Hawaiian Vocabulary and a Chronological Table of Remarkable Events* published at Honolulu in 1865. Andrews was one of the original American missionaries, while Parker was a missionary son.

In 1937, Major Davis Jones, U. S. Infantry, and Sgt. W. C. Addleman published *Dictionary of Hawaiian Place Names* which was a revision of Thrum with useful information for officers and enlisted men. Both the Thrum and Jones-Addleman works are out of print, so the new bibliography enhances the book's usefulness. But it goes into the arbitrary grammatical constructions that the junior editors adopted in their previous dictionaries (1964-1965), with additional remarks which to this reviewer are beside the point in a work of this kind.

Place names often recall traditions, legends, and folklore; or they may have been given by original settlers for places in their home lands. Home place names commemorate more recent events, and a few of modern vintage are merely contributions of imaginative real estate developers. But in several cases, the editors of *Place Names* have fallen into the same pit into

which Mr. Thrum stumbled: they have given literal meanings, not knowing the derivations or backgrounds of these place names. This is historical and linguistic folly. Better would it be to admit lack of information than to continue old errors or make new ones.

Their recent dictionaries, though scholarly, are as arbitrary as earlier dictionaries by the American missionaries who based their studies on classical Greek and Latin. Hawaiian is of the so-called "Malayo-Polynesian" linguistic family and current anthropological researchers point to Indonesia and Southeast Asia as the homeland of the aboriginal peoples.

Place Names needs to be revised from time to time, but it would be a more useful book if the arbitrary grammatical "Analysis" were omitted. Similar criticism can be made of the attempts of authors Pukui and Elbert to set up grammatical rules which follow guide lines. Let not my strictures, however, obscure an important central fact: it is that Pukui and Elbert have made a significant contribution to the ever growing field of Hawaiiana.

An 1846-47 Diary Superbly Done

Western America in 1846-47 by Lieut. J. W. Abert, edited by John Galvin (San Francisco: John Howell—Books, 1966) 174 pp., 15 color plates, 2 folding maps, $7.50.

Reviewer: LELAND D. CASE, *director of the California History Foundation.*

The name Abert is known well to anyone familiar with illustrations in U.S. Topographical Engineers' reports on Western America, but little has been put in print about him. The introduction to this diary limns him as a Princeton and West Point man of culture. His favorite reading on the trail was Horace and a *New Testament* in Greek. He taught drawing at West Point and in the field did the sketches of places and people that brighten the pages of this book. Uncle Sam's war with Mexico brought sharp criticism in its day from moralists. How a professional soldier who was a family man and a churchman viewed it provides the unusual quality that gives this book charm and significance.

Lieutenant Abert left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in June 1846, returning in the blizzard season of the following winter. His scientific training comes through in his notes on animals, birds, reptiles, flowers, plants, ruins of old Spanish buildings, and Bent's Fort. But he excells in his comment on people, whether the people be Indians in pueblo dwellings or natives of Spanish descent who were not yet sure they would like being American.

Historians who will examine this diary for light on how and why Santa Fe was taken without a shot being fired, will be disappointed. But general readers will delight in the Pepysian illusion of participation. Abert reports with surprise that many Spanish-speaking natives were literate, but had little to read. He tells of the great economic gulf between peasants and the "ricos". He notes a Masonic celebration in which Colonel Price and the Governor participated. His artist's eye brightened as he studied old Pecos ruins in New Mexico's glittering sunshine as cranes circled above.

"It formed a beautiful picture, and more than a picture," he wrote, "for every cloud, every degree the sun moves, gives such different effects to the landscape that one has a thousand pictures." Such light baffles artists, he noted, adding: "For my part, I tried, and tried in vain."

Examining the plates, one is not

so sure. Rather, the impression grows that these hitherto never published pictures pull Abert into the company of Catlin and Bodmer, even Remington and Russell.

It is unfortunate that PACIFIC HISTORIAN has no award for the outstanding Western book of the year—for this could be it. That is a judgment based not only upon Mr. Galvin's skilful editing which enhances the content, but the superb way this volume was turned out by those master craftsmen of the printing arts, Lawton Kennedy and son Alfred. It is a handsome book, with pages 10 by 14 inches. Christmas shoppers might take note that had it not been heavily subsidized, its price could be multiplied by four, maybe five.

Prohibition in Washington State

The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington, by Norman H. Clark (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965); biblio., illus., notes, index, 304 pp. $6.95.

Reviewer: RICHARD W. LONG, *University of the Pacific history student.*

This useful work is well worth the attention and reading of serious students of the social experiment known as Prohibition. The material is informative, the style simple and clear. Dr. Clark traces early Temperance sentiment, on the state level, and eventually the Prohibition movement from the early 19th century to the 1950s. Of particular interest in the West is the discussion of specific anti-saloon reformers and connections between Prohibition and other reforms, such as women's suffrage. The author refutes the idea that Prohibition was "anti-urban reaction". After a great amount of research in manuscripts and personal interviews Dr. Clark concludes that the Temperance movement and Prohibition were a middle-class movement which offered those of the lower middle-class identification with the middle-class.

To read *The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington*, in conjunction with a more general history of the Prohibition movement, would give the reader a helpful insight into one important segment of American history.

Company Towns in the West

The Company Town in the American West by James B. Allen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 205 pp., illus., biblio., index, $5.95.

Reviewer: HAROLD S. JACOBY, *professor of sociology, College of the Pacific, University of the Pacific.*

As a work of history, Dr. Allen gives us an interestingly written compilation based on records, letters, and conversations concerning approximately 100 company towns which over the past century have dotted the eleven Western states. He has located and identified 191 such towns, most of which have either disappeared or have ceased to be company owned and managed.

Isolation is pointed to as the common condition which led to establishment of these communities; and the automobile and highways are cited as the causes of decline and demise. These towns exhibit "vast differences" in make-up and operation and control, but Dr. Allen attempts no classification or typology – based on such factors as size, type of company ownership, or degree of isolation—to help the reader obtain a better grasp of the range and significance of these differences. In his early chapters, he separately treats towns on the type of industry which brought them about – lumber towns, copper

towns, coal towns, etc. – but he makes no analytical use of this classification except when he describes the materials customarily used for building the homes of the workers.

Implicit in this study, however, is a generalization which the reviewer finds it difficult to accept—that on the whole these communities were pleasant, congenial places in which to live. Not that Dr. Allen ignores completely the disagreeable aspects of company town life, but he manages to wind up each topic discussed with a word of excuse or praise for the way in which the companies ran these communities. Here are three examples.

Concerning recreation: *Evidence seems to indicate, however, that residents in the majority of the West's company towns were well taken care of as far as recreational opportunities were concerned.* (p. 100)

On religion: *All in all, it appears that church activity in company towns was a normal and healthy part of community life.* (p. 101)

On schools: *Support of schools thus played an important part in the overall planning of the owners of company towns.* (p. 105)

Factual foundation for these observations is exceedingly thin. Discussing eight such topics, Dr. Allen employs 45 citations, or slightly over five citations per topic. Twenty-six, however, relate to but seven towns—less than four per cent of all the known towns in the West. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that these seven were in some special way representative of the majority. Since such observations are rather unique in the literature on company towns, it would be useful to have more extensive documentation.

Another aspect worthy of comment is the extent to which the author avoids unionism in the establishment, operation, and demise of these towns. The IWW is mentioned briefly in connection with the 1917 "Bisbee deportation" incident, but not at all in connection with the lumber industry in the Northwest. Nor does the Western Federation of Miners receive as much as a footnote.

From this book, one might assume that the residents of company towns were indifferent, if not opposed to unionism. And, it is strange that the author completely avoids speculating on the role of the National Labor Relations Act as a factor in bringing about the demise of the company town by rendering useless their effectiveness as anti-union devices.

One final thought: In a study of Western company-run communities, wouldn't it be appropriate to include some of California's employer operated agricultural labor camps? Since they are contemporary—and as yet, not fully removed from issues of unionism—it may be difficult to undertake any truly objective study of them, but they certainly meet Dr. Allen's definition of a company town: "any community which is owned and controlled by a particular company."

Noteworthy Wesleyan Californiana

Cross in the Sunset, volume I, by Leon L. Loofbourow (San Francisco and Berkeley: Historical Society of the California-Nevada Annual Conference of The Methodist Church, 1966), appendix, rosters, illus., index, 239 pp., $5.00.

Reviewer: WILLIAM A. CLEBSCH, *Special Programs in Humanities,* Stanford University.

Dr. Loofbourow's marvelously detailed history of California and Nevada Methodism is now completed by the appearance of volume one, some three years after its companion was published [reviewed in P-H, Summer, 1966]. The work's

sub-title defines its scope: "The Development of Methodism in the California-Nevada Annual Conference of The Methodist Church and of Its Predecessors with Roster of All Members of the Conference." The present volume traces the first half-century of the California Conference (1847-1897) and of Nevada Methodism (very briefly) from 1861 to the present; the central part of the book deals with Methodist language and ethnic groups, largely by presenting sketches of its ministerial leaders; the third "book" surveys the history of the Pacific Conference, M. E. Church, South, from its organization in 1851 to the reunion of 1939. Rosters of ministers in the Pacific Conference, in the Nevada Annual Conference (1864-1884), and in the language and ethnic groups (1852-1939) add greatly to the book's usefulness.

Front-matter is so plentiful that Bishop Donald Harvey Tippett's brief foreword is all but buried. A page of errata corrects nearly all the gaffers I found. Officers and functionaries of the Conference's sponsoring group—it is an officially commissioned history—fill a page, and five brief prefaces, four by the author, tell how the volume came into being. Much credit is given to the researches of Howard W. Derby. To the narrative and rosters are appended an interesting note on the introduction of eucalyptus trees into California by William Taylor and his neighbor, an index to the 167 illustrations, and the volume's proper index. There is no bibliography, but copious footnotes tell the process of painstaking examination of original sources, careful checking of recollections, and critical scrutiny of other historians' work.

Such barebones description of the contents of a valuable volume in regional denominational history, however necessary, falls short of full justice unless it goes on to note the brisk and clear narrative style by which Dr. Loofbourow enlivens research notes and memories. Multitudinous detail, the stuff of such history, leaves many a historiographer literally breathless; not so in the case at hand. Our author brings the past into our presence, and in doing so he is not above imparting a word of wisdom here and there, scolding the "southern" church in California for its apolitical pretense, praising a benefactress or two, upbraiding a jaundiced chronicler, defending a doctrine, or quoting a ditty. All of which says that the work avoids the drabness—and in doing so forfeits the definitiveness—usually displayed by official institutional histories of high order.

Here is a worthy contribution not only to Wesleyana in America but also to Californiana.

Western Book Browsing

CIRCUS ELEPHANTS . . . Ah, how lucky can a 12-year old boy get! The Biggest Show on Earth had come to our midwest town, and by being on hand at daybreak, I got on the elephant bucket brigade. The hydrant was a block away, but with a two-hand hold I managed the beat-up galvanized pails pretty well for the first hour. My enthusiasm waned, however, when the pachyderms began to snuffle the water and spray it over their backs—then me!

Memory of that adventure drew me to *Pioneer Circuses of the West* by Chang Reynolds (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966); 212 pp., $7.50. It begins with the first circus in California, arriving by ship October 12, 1849, and runs the narrative up 'til almost now. The author's own sketches add to the book's appeal and a bibliography and in-

dex make it a sound stepping stone for students of the lively folk arts.

Donald Jackson, who is editor of the University of Illinois Press, has stirred dust that settled long ago on documents relating to the 1874 expedition of General George Armstrong Custer to the Black Hills of South Dakota. The result is the readable *Custer's Gold* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966, $5.00). Maybe he relied on the records too much. An on-the-spot visit could have avoided minor errors which will be noted perhaps only by persons who have lived in the Hills. But to repeat: the errors are minor. The story of this gold-discovery expedition to Pahasapa, the sacred heartland of the Sioux, has never been told better.

Jedediah Smith's most adequate biography is the richly researched *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* by Dale L. Morgan, originally published by Bobbs-Merrill in 1953. Now the University of Nebraska Press has it in its Bison paperback series, price $1.85. It's excellent – but would have been sharper if updated by the author who, incidentally, is an honorary life member of the Jedediah Smith Society, one of the sponsors of THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN.

California's connection with the Philippines reaches to the Manila galleons of the 16th century, which brought wealth of the Far East to Mexico for transhipment to Spain. They sailed on currents sweeping the California coastline, which is interesting but not especially pertinent to *The United States and the Philippines*, a collection of essays edited by Frank H. Golay (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966, $3.95). This book, however, provides excellent *modern* backgrounding for the student interested in *earlier* history of the Philippines.

If your reading taste runs to outlaws, as mine does not, you'll spend a dollar well to get a little red-paper covered *Outlaw Album* featuring photos from the bottomless collection of Fred and Jo Mazzulla (1930 East 8th Ave., Denver, Colo., 80206). Here you'll find authentic data on the sartorial equipment of men and women whose misdeeds ranged from peccadilloes to murder.

A tip of the sombrero to Westernlore Press for reprinting Mr. and Mrs. Fremont Older's *George Hearst, California Pioneer* (Los Angeles: 1966, $7.50). It first broke into print as a de luxe item, measuring nine by fourteen inches, weighing five pounds, and bound in white morocco. William Randolph Hearst, son of Senator George, had 1,000 copies printed as keepsakes for 150 dinner guests at his San Simeon castle in 1933. Naturally, the book depicts Senator Hearst as a knight in shining armour jousting in the 19th century business and political arena. The public relations man of an enterprise with which Hearst once was identified declined to review the book for us, saying facts therein stated were not as the old hands remembered them. No matter. The book is an important bibliographical item in history of the West, and scholars will know how to make adjustments in acceptance of its contents.

My pet peeve No. 1 has been ravished wantonly by a little book from that most prestigious of all Western publishers, the University of Oklahoma Press. The offending item is *Frontier Trails, the Autobiography of Frank M. Canton* (Norman: 1966, $2.00). It's an enlightening account of a man whose career as a lawman ranged from Texas and Oklahoma to Alaska. The writing is smooth. The account is authentic. But, alas, *the book has no index!*

—EL PESCADERO

The Foofarah Column

We don't like it at all. But, yes, this issue is late. With reasons. Most of them pivot around the point that editorial work on this publication is from persons who contribute their time—and are glad to do it. But next time, we'll do better, *faster*.

Is there a source-in-print for our story about Ione, Calif.? It runs like this: a lovesick swain was having trouble persuading his sweetheart back east to come to him at the California mining camp called Bedbug.

"What!" she scoffed, "Live in a town with such a name!" He took his problem to cronies with a plea that the name be changed.

"What's yer gal's name?" someone asked.

"Ione Jones."

"I move we call our place Ione," the gallant man said. The motion seems to have carried for Ione it has been ever since. So the girl called Ione and her husband lived happily ever after.... At least that's the story. What we want to know is whether there's a wisp of truth to it. Can it be pegged down to any printed source?

A project started long ago by the Jedediah Smith Society is a file of his collateral descendents. JED was one of eleven children, and he was killed in 1831, so the number is potentially large. Anyone knowing of a JED-related SMITH is invited to send the information to: Jedediah Smith Society, University of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif. 95204.

The sixth annual conference of the Western History Association was held October 13-15 at El Paso, Texas, with a record-breaking attendance. One of the features was the Saturday Breakfast sponsored by Westerners, at which a report was made on the 25 local units (usually called Corrals), which includes those in London, Paris, and Gothenburg, Sweden.

Does any reader know of a Western history buff (male preferred) in Honolulu, Tokyo, or Manila who might like to join corrals to be established in those cities? Or Sacramento or San Francisco? If so, he should send names, addresses, and a short run-down on their vocations and interests to the acting secretary of The Westerners Foundation, care of University of the Pacific.

More adequate notice will be taken of it later, but with the Christmas Season at hand, we do want to acknowledge a remarkable gift that has recently come to the Stuart Library of Western Americana at the University of the Pacific. It is the complete set of 36 field note books of MRS. IRENE PADEN, author of *In the Wake of the Prairie Schooner* and *Prairie Schooner Detours*. These cover some 25 years of research and will prove invaluable to future students of the early emigration to the West Coast.

The best idea-from-readers for the month comes from MRS. HELEN DOW of San Francisco. "I am," she writes, "considering a membership in the Jedediah Smith Society as a Christmas gift for my husband."

For information on the year-long pleasures it will bring him, and what it will cost her, we refer you to the back cover.

—Your Editors.

AN INVITATION TO LIBRARIES

Subscribers: Most persons who receive THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN do so as members of one of the three sponsoring organizations (see overleaf). But it is also available to libraries on a conventional billing basis. The annual subscription price is five dollars.

Indexes: Miss Hilda E. Bloom has twice expertly prepared "Cumulative Indexes"—first in 1961 for Volumes I through V; again in 1964 for Volumes VI through VIII. These make old numbers of THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN readily useful in research. They are priced at one dollar apiece.

Back Files: Complete sets are available for the ten full volumes of THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN from 1957 through 1966. There are 40 issues in all. The price is $35 for a complete set (a few early issues may be xeroxed). Included are the two "Cumulative Indexes." Individual back copies are priced at one dollar apiece.

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The Jedediah Smith Society

BELIEVING AMERICANS should remember Jedediah Smith, a group of amateur and professional historians met in 1957 at the University of the Pacific to set up The Jedediah Smith Society. It has since achieved both steadily and fruitfully through such projects as:

- *Jedediah Smith Redwood Grove, established in northern California by the late C. M. Goethe, who was a founder and an honorary life member.*
- *Planned expeditions to locate routes of travel through the Sierra passes and the Central Valley of California.*
- *Encouragement of original research and publication, including a genealogical study of the Smith Family and a bibliography of all material published on Jedediah Smith and his beaver-trapping companions.*
- *A notable research collection on the Mountain-Man era in the Stuart Library of Western Americana—including papers of Smith's early biographer, Maurice Sullivan.*
- *Frequent articles in* THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN*—a quarterly of Western History and official journal of the Society, which is received by all members.*
- *Annual* Rendezvous*—an all-day frolic for Smith buffs, many of whom attend in costume.*
- *A membership spread from coast to coast—of friendly but serious people who with dollars endorse their belief in the American Heritage.*

Jedediah Smith is "an authentic American hero," to quote his biographer Dale Morgan. If he and Western history interest you, you are invited to join. Annual dues are $5, $25 (donor), and $100 (patron). One thousand dollars purchases a lifetime membership.

Make out your check to "JSS—University of the Pacific"—and mail it to Jedediah Smith Society, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California 95204.